MESSAGE

FROM THE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

COMMUNICATING,

In compliance with a resolution of the Senate of the 13th instant, information in regard to the departure of troops from Austria for Mexico.

June 18, 1866.—Read, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and ordered to be printed.

To the Senate of the United States:

In compliance with a resolution of the Senate of the 13th instant, calling for information in regard to the departure of troops from Austria for Mexico, I transmit a report from the Secretary of State, and the documents by which it was accompanied.

ANDREW JOHNSON.

WASHINGTON, June 15, 1866.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, June 15, 1866.

The Secretary of State, to whom was referred the resolution of the Senate of the 13th instant, requesting the President "to communicate to the Senate, if not incompatible with the public interest, any information in the possession of the executive government in regard to the departure of troops from Austria for Mexico," has the honor to lay before the President a copy of the correspondence specified in the accompanying list.

Respectfully submitted:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

The PRESIDENT.

List of papers.

Mr. Motley to Mr. Seward, (extract,) No. 138.	Dec.	18	1865.
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Mr. Motley to Mr. Seward.

[Extract.]

No. 138.]

United States Legation, Vienna, December 18, 1865.

Sir: I think it proper to send you herewith appended, marked A, a translation of a paragragh recently published in the semi-official papers and in the official Gazette of Vienna in regard to the enlistment in Austria for Mexico.

I have the honor to remain your obedient servant,

J. LOTHROP MOTLEY.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State, Washington.

A.

Extract from the "General Correspondenz," and copied into the Vienna Gazette (official) of December 15, 1865.

[Translation.]

We have already taken occasion long ago to contradict in the most decisive manner the reports, apparently spread with design, in regard to pretended agreements for the sending of troops to Mexico on the part of Austria and the arrangements thereto appertaining.

Similar reports are once more willingly spread, and may have originated in an article of the Patrie, which paper pretended to know that movements of imperial royal Austrian troops and subaltern officers to Mexico were impending, a fact which undoubtedly would have the character of a sending of Austrian auxiliary troops.

The manner in which this news has lately, and particularly by the Paris cor-

respondent of the Cologne Gazette, been made use of against Austria, prompts us once more to refer to this affair, and to affirm in the most positive manner

that these reports are nothing but inventions made for a purpose.

The truth in the whole question is limited to this, that it is proposed to permit such persons as have already fulfilled their military duty to Austria, but only such, to enlist in the Mexican service, in the same manner and with the same conditions as was the case when the last year's first enlistments for the Austrian-Mexican volunteer corps took place. The object of these newly permitted enlistments, as has already been explicitly stated, would only be to provide substitutes for the numerous vacancies in the Austrian volunteer corps serving in Mexico. The newly enlisted, like those who entered the volunteer corps in the year 1864, take the military oath to the emperor of Mexico, and pledge themselves to him for a six years' service. Their flag is not the Austrian, but the Mexican, and the power of Austria is in nowise engaged through them, or for them. Also, it is entirely false when the Patrie puts the number of those volunteers at 10,000 men; the latest enlistments in Austria for Mexico, concerning the permission for which negotiations are now in progress, would in any event not exceed yearly the total number of 2,000 men.

Whilst we are endeavoring to give a true and correct statement of this affair, we have to remark that no binding resolves have been taken in regard to this affair, but that, on the contrary, the negotiations on the subject have only just begun. But these may, however, very probably lead to the conclusion of a supplemental convention to the agreement entered into last year, of which the chief object was to place as securely as possible the rights of those enlisting, who,

after all, remain at the same time Austrian subjects.

Mr. Motley to Mr. Seward.

No. 150.]

UNITED STATES LEGATION, Vienna, February 27, 1866.

Sir: I think it is as well to state, referring to my confidential despatch No. 148, of date February 20, 1866, that I have been informed that efforts are making to induce the Austrian government to consent that 4,000 volunteers may be levied here this year for Mexico, on the ground that the supplementary article to the convention of Miramar permitted two thousand each year, and that none were forwarded in the year 1865.

I learn that this consent will probably be accorded, so that if the funds can be obtained for paying, equipping, and transporting them, 4,000 Austrian volunteers will be found and may be expected in Mexico this year. I believe that

the funds have not yet been furnished.

I have the honor to remain, your obedient servant,

J. LOTHROP MOTLEY.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State, Washington.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Motley.

No. 167.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 19, 1866.

Sir: Mr. Bigelow informs me, by a despatch of the 15th of February, that he learned from an unofficial source that "Gregorio Barandiran, the diplomatic representative of the Archduke Maximilian, formerly secretary of legation under

Señor Robles at Washington, is now in Paris for money to fit out 10,000 Austrians, who, he says, are ready to embark from Triest for Mexico. The Mexican commissioner informed him that there was no money in his hands. I am not sure of learning the result of the minister's suit here, as the money, if furnished, must come through indirect and concealed channels."

You are instructed to inquire concerning the facts, and if they justify the report, to bring it to the knowledge of the Austrian government seasonably, and say that the United States cannot regard with unconcern a proceeding which

would seem to bring Austria into an alliance with the invaders of Mexico, to subvert the domestic republic, and build up foreign imperial institutions.

It is hoped Austria will give us frank explanations.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

J. LOTHROP MOTLEY, Esq, &c., &c., Vienna.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Motley.

No. 169.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, March 19, 1866.

SIR: I have your despatch of the 27th of February, No. 150, by which we learn that efforts are now made to induce the Austrian government to consent that 4,000 volunteers may be levied within that empire this year, for Mexico, on the ground that the supplementary article of the convention of Miramar permitted 2,000 each year, and that none were forwarded in the year 1865.

Upon this statement of facts you express the opinion that the consent desired will probably be accorded by the imperial government, so that if the funds can be obtained for paying, equipping and transporting 4,000 officers and volunteers, they will be found, and may be expected in Mexico this year. At the same time you state, that it is your opinion that the funds have not yet been furnished.

The case thus presented renders it proper that I should call your especial attention to my despatch No. 167, which bears the date of, and is sent forward,

this day.

In preparing that despatch I anticipated the case substantially which your communication now presents. You cannot, while practicing the courtesy and respect which are due to the Austrian government, be either too earnest or too

emphatic in the protest you have been directed to make.

In performing this duty, you may be assisted by information of the actual state of the question concerning French intervention in Mexico, at the present moment. With this view, I give you, confidentially, a copy of my note addressed to the Marquis de Montholon on the 12th day of February last. As yet, no reply has been received to this note, nor have its contents become public. You will, therefore, see the propriety of being discreet in such use of it as you may find it necessary to make.

After reading that paper you will be justified in saying that the American government and people would not be likely to be pleased with seeing Austria at this juncture assume the character of a protector to the foreign military power which, claiming the form of an empire, is attempted to be set up upon the sup-

posed subverted foundations of the republic of Mexico.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

J. LOTHROP MOTLEY, Esq., &c., &c., Vienna.

Mr. Motley to Mr. Seward.

No. 155.]

UNITED STATES LEGATION, Vienna, March 27, 1866.

SIR: The military supplementary convention between that government of Mexico which is here recognized as the legitimate one and the Austrian govern-

ment was signed on the 15th of this month.

As the nature and conditions of this agreement have already been fully stated in my despatches of January 8, February 20, and February 27, (Nos. 142, 148, and 150,) the matter can be no novelty to you, and there seems no necessity for repeating what has already been said.

It is expected that about 1,000 volunteers will be shipped very soon from

Triest to Vera Cruz, and at least as many more in the autumn.

I have the honor to remain, sir, your obedient servant,

J. LOTHROP MOTLEY.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Motley.

No. 173.]

Washington, April 6, 1866.

SIR: An informal note has just been received from Mr. Bigelow, the United States minister at Paris. In this note Mr. Bigelow writes, in substance, as follows:

"The Moniteur of the 21st of March announces that a military convention was signed at Vienna on the 15th, between the Austrian government and the representative of Maximilian, supplementary to a convention of the same nature which had been previously concluded between the same parties.

"The purpose of this engagement, says the Moniteur, is to insure the enrol-

ments necessary to keep full the Austrian corps in Mexico."

Mr. Bigelow further writes as follows:

"I have seen it stated in another journal that a line of steamers is to be started from Triest to Vera Cruz, to ply regularly after the 1st of April."

Again, Mr. Bigelow furnishes an extract from the Paris Constitutionel of the

21st of March:

"We learn from the Freudenblatt, of Tienna, that the enlistment for Mexico will begin immediately; that the funds had been received from Paris two months since."

Your despatches of dates almost as late as that of Mr. Bigelow's note are silent upon the rumors which he brings to the notice of this government. It is possible that more authentic information which you may possess concerning the disposition and proceedings of the Austrian government may enable you to treat the matter mentioned by Mr. Bigelow with indifference.

Looking at the matter, however, from our point of observation, the rumors referred to are deemed sufficient to entitle us to ask a friendly and just exposition of the imperial royal government of the relations which it proposes to assume

or maintain henceforth in regard to Mexico.

You are expected, therefore, to execute the instructions which have heretofore been sent to you to that effect; and it is thought proper that you should state that, in the event of hostilities being carried on hereafter in Mexico by Austrian subjects, under the command or with the sanction of the government of Vienna, the United States will feel themselves at liberty to regard those hostilities as constituting a state of war by Austria against the republic of Mexico; and in

regard to such war, waged at this time and under existing circumstances, the United States could not engage to remain as silent or neutral spectators.

The President may desire to call the attention of Congress to this interesting subject. You will see the importance, therefore, of obtaining the information which is desired as early as may be practicable consistently with the courtesies due to Austria as a friendly government.

Should you, however, find important reasons, now unknown to us, for deferring the execution of this instruction, you will be at liberty to exercise your

discretion and report those reasons to us.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

J. LOTHROP MOTLEY, Esq., &c., &c., Vienna.

Mr. Motley to Mr. Seward.

No. 158.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, Vienna, April 6, 1866.

Sir: I had the honor to receive your No. 167, of date March 19. In this despatch it is stated that Mr. Bigelow informs you, under date of February 15, from an unofficial source, that "Gregorio Barandiran, the diplomatic representative of the Archduke Maximilian, formerly secretary of legation under Señor Robles, at Washington, is now in Paris for money to fit out 10,000 Austrians, which, he says, are ready to embark from Triest for Mexico. The Mexican commissioner informed him that there was no money in his hands. I am not sure of learning the result of the minister's suit here, as the money, if furnished, must come through indirect and concealed channels."

In consequence of this information furnished by Mr. Bigelow, you instruct me to "inquire concerning the facts, and, if they justify the report, to bring it to the knowledge of the Austrian government seasonably, and say that the United States cannot regard with unconcern a proceeding which would seem to bring Austria into alliance with the invaders of Mexico to subvert the domestic republic and build up foreign imperial institutions. It is hoped that

Austria will give us frank explanations."

In reply, I have to observe that Mr. Bigelow, in a private note to me of the same date as his despatch above cited, mentioned this report of the "10,000 Austrians ready to embark at Triest for Mexico," but the story was so entirely at variance with everything well known to me here that I attributed very little importance to it. In order to make assurances more sure, however, I took pains instantly to verify the facts in the most exact and authentic manner. I learned, accordingly, that, instead of there being 10,000 Austrians at Triest, there was not one Austrian soldier ready to embark at that port, or at any other point in this empire.

This intelligence, from the most unquestionable source, was transmitted by me in a private note to Mr. Bigelow, but I confess that I did not consider it worth while to trouble you with a matter which seemed to be mere newspaper gossip. I felt that, so long as I was deemed worthy of my present post, you would feel confident that I should always furnish you with accurate intelligence as to important events occurring in Austria, and that the concentration and embarcation for Mexico of 10,000 Austrians at Triest were facts not

likely to escape my notice.

You will doubtless remember that in my despatch of the Sth of January I stated, on official authority, that the Austrian government had consented that volunteers should be levied in this empire, from men who had fulfilled their

term of service in Austria, in numbers sufficient to keep full the original legion in Mexico of 6,000 men.

As the supplementary convention to that effect had not then been signed, it

was not possible to give you more definite information.

Subsequently, on the 20th of February, I informed you that the supplementary articles permitted the levy of 2,000 men each year for a certain period; and on the 29th of February I added that, as no volunteers had been sent in 1865, it was now permitted to send two quotas of 2,000 men each during the

year 1866.

I also stated that the equipping and transporting of these troops, and all other expenses, were to be defrayed by that government at Mexico which has been recognized here as the legitimate one, and not in any proportion by the Austrian government. As you have especially instructed me not to engage in official or political discussions on the Mexican subject with the government to which I am accredited, and as that injunction, to which I have repeatedly and very lately alluded in this correspondence, has never been removed, I should have thought myself violating my duty had I taken the responsibility of entering any protest on the part of the United States government against these proceedings.

My personal opinions in regard to this attempt, by means of foreign armies and navies, to set up a foreign empire on the ruins of an American republic, are

perfectly well known here and at home.

What is of infinitely more importance, every government in Europe, that of Austria included, knows the position of the United States government, and is aware that it will never, so long as a foreign power occupies the territory and waters of Mexico with its military and naval forces, recognize the existence of an empire which that power has sought to establish, nor accept it as the creation of the Mexican national will.

But I am now somewhat embarrassed by the instructions contained in your

despatch No. 167.

It seems to me that if I should intimate now (as instructed by you, on receiving the rumors contained in Mr. Bigelow's despatch) that "Austria is in alliance with the invaders of Mexico," and should express the hope that "she will give us frank explanations," I should appear to suggest that the imperial royal government had not hitherto been frank in her dealings on this subject.

Now, it is my duty to say that I believe the imperial government has been perfectly sincere, straightforward, and loyal towards the United States in this matter, and in every other, since I have had the honor of holding my present

post.

There have been no concealments, as I firmly believe, as to her position, in

regard to what is called here the Mexican empire.

It has been uniformly stated by the imperial government that it had nothing to do with the attempt to establish that empire; that it had neither a military nor mercantile navy, nor superfluous land forces, adequate to sustain, by force, the government which the Archduke Maximilian sought to establish in Mexico; that his acceptance or rejection of the offer made to him in 1863 was a matter which personally concerned only himself and his brother, the Emperor of Austria, and that the imperial royal government was in no alliance, direct or indirect, with the proposed new government of Mexico.

The Austrian government had allowed a certain number of volunteers to be raised for service in Mexico by the emperor's brother, a proceeding which would, of course, have been a violation of Austrian sovereignty, had it been

done without permission.

What would have been the answer to a protest by the United States government against the original convention of Miramar granting that permission, or of

a similar protest to the supplementary convention signed here on the 15th of

last March, I cannot tell.

I suppose, however, that if the United States government had permitted, or were now to permit, the republican government of Mexico, recognized by the United States as the legitimate one, to raise volunteers within the territory of the United States, in whatever numbers, the Austrian government would not consider itself authorized to protest against such a measure, or to resent it.

It would, I suppose, consider that a measure incident to the sovereignty of the United States, and whatever might be the effect produced upon the various belligerents in Mexico by such a step, Austria, as a neutral, would not be affected

by it.

My embarrassment is somewhat increased by the perusal of your No. 169, bearing the same date (19th of March) as your No. 167, both reaching me under

the same envelope.

In this later despatch, which acknowledges receipt of my No. 150, giving information that the supplementary convention thereafter to be signed would allow a double yearly quota, viz., 4,000 volunteers, to go to Mexico this year, on the ground that none were forwarded in the year 1865, you call my especial attention to your No. 167.

You observe that in preparing that despatch you anticipated the case substantially which my communication now presents. You instruct me further that while practicing the courtesy and respect which are due to the Austrian government, I cannot be either too earnest or too emphatic in the protest which I have

been directed to make.

You further send for my guidance a copy of the note addressed to you by the Marquis de Montholon on the 12th of February, by which I learn the actual

state of the question concerning French intervention in Mexico.

You also observe, that after reading that paper I shall be justified in saying that the "American government and people would not be likely to be pleased with seeing Austria at this juncture assume the character of a protector to the foreign military power which, claiming the form of an empire, is attempted to be set up upon the supposed subverted foundations of the republic of Mexico."

As a matter of fact, officially published here, only 1,000 volunteers are to go this summer. Whether this restriction is in order to avoid the unhealthy season in Vera Cruz, or because funds have not been provided for equipping and trans-

porting a larger number, I know not.

As soon as the supplementary convention was signed last month, I instructed Mr. Thayer, United States consul at Triest, to send me accurate intelligence as to the number of troops, dates of sailing, and other particulars of interest in this connexion, so that you may rely upon my keeping you duly informed on the

subject.

It is my anxious desire to perform my duty to the United States government with the utmost fidelity in this most serious affair. I think that if I could have the advantage of direct conversation with you I should easily convince you that there is no intention on the part of Austria to succeed the French government in the position of protector to the foreign military power which it is attempted to set up in Mexico, and that it would be difficult for the imperial royal government to disavow any such intention more frankly and loyally than it has uniformly done.

If your efforts to bring about the evacuation of Mexico by the French army are successful, I do not think that the Austrian volunteers in that country will be sufficiently numerous to prevent a free expression of the national will as to the form of government thenceforth to be adopted. I also consider it indisputable that, whatever be the result, the Austrian government will never deem itself either directly or by implication called upon to sustain the cause which

those volunteers have endeavored to support.

After making these preliminary observations at no greater length, I trust, than is justified by the importance of the subject, I proceed to say that, in view of your decided and unequivocal instructions just received, I deem it, of course, my duty to break the official silence hitherto imposed upon me, and to bring the opinions of the United States government to the direct notice of the imperial royal government.

As, however, I consider frankness and sincerity the best rule in diplomacy, and especially on this occasion, I have decided to request the imperial royal

minister for foreign affairs to read this despatch before I send it to you.

Should his excellency find in it any misstatements or wrong inferences, or if he should favor me with any suggestions or comments, I shall have the honor duly to notify you thereof in a subsequent despatch, probably by the same post that will take this one.

P. S.—The Moniteur of yesterday informs us as to the terms fixed for the evacuation of Mexico by the French army—whether to the satisfaction, or not, of the United States government I know not.

I have the honor to remain, sir, most respectfully, your very obedient servant, J. LOTHROP MOTLEY.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Motley.

No. 174.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, April 16, 1866.

SIR: I have had the honor to receive your despatch of the 27th of March, No. 155, which brings the important announcement that a treaty, called a "military supplementary convention," was ratified on the 15th of that month between the Emperor of Austria and the Prince Maximilian, who claims to be an emperor in Mexico.

You inform me that it is expected that about one thousand volunteers will be shipped (under this treaty) from Triest to Vera Cruz very soon, and that at

least as many more will be shipped in the autumn.

I have heretofore given you the President's instructions to ask for explanations, and, conditionally, to inform the government of Austria that the despatch of military expeditions by Austria under such an arrangement as the one which seems now to have been consummated would be regarded with serious concern

by the United States.

The subject has now been further considered in connexion with the official information thus recently received. The time seems to have arrived when the attitude of this government in relation to Mexican affairs should be once again frankly and distinctly made known to the Emperor of Austria, and all other powers whom it may directly concern. The United States, for reasons which seem to them to be just, and to have their foundation in the laws of nations, maintain that the domestic republican government with which they are in relations of friendly communication is the only legitimate government existing in Mexico; that a war has for a period of several years been waged against that republic by the government of France, which war began with a disclaimer of all political or dynastic designs; that that war has subsequently taken upon itself, and now distinctly wears, the character of an European intervention to overthrow that domestic republican government, and to erect in its stead a European imperial military despotism by military force. The United States, in view of the character of their own political institutions, their proximity and intimate relations towards Mexico, and their just influence in the political affairs of the

American continent, cannot consent to the accomplishment of that purpose by the means described. The United States have therefore addressed themselves, as they think, seasonably to the government of France, and have asked that its military forces, engaged in that objectionable political invasion, may desist from

further intervention and be withdrawn from Mexico.

A copy of the last communication upon this subject, which was addressed by us to the government of France, is herewith transmitted for your special information. This paper will give you the true situation of the question. It will also enable you to satisfy the government of Vienna that the United States must be no less opposed to military intervention for political objects hereafter in Mexico by the government of Austria, than they are opposed to any further intervention of the same character in that country by France.

You will, therefore, at as early a day as may be convenient, bring the whole case, in a becoming manner, to the attention of the imperial royal government. You are authorized to state that the United States sincerely desire that Austria may find it just and expedient to come upon the same ground of non-intervention in Mexico which is maintained by the United States, and to which they

have invited France.

You will communicate to us the answer of the Austrian government to this

This government could not but regard as a matter of serious concern the despatch of any troops from Austria for Mexico while the subject which you are thus directed to present to the Austrian government remains under consideration.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

J. LOTHROP MOTLEY, Esq., &c., &c., Vienna.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Motley.

No. 181.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, April 30, 1866.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the reception of your despatches of the

6th of April, No. 158, and the 10th of April, No. 159.

These papers inform me that you have brought my despatches Nos. 167 and 169 to the notice of the imperial government, although not without some hesitation and embarrassment. Subsequently to the time when that duty was performed you must have received my despatch of April 6, No. 173, my further despatch of April 16, No. 174, and also my confidential despatch of April 16, No. 176, all of which despatches relate to the situation of Mexico.

I trust that these several communications will have cleared away whatever uncertainty you may heretofore have felt concerning the views of this govern-

ment in regard to that subject.

In your No. 158 you have assumed that this government could not justly regard as a departure from neutrality by the Austrian government the authority which it has given by entering into a recent treaty with the Prince Maximilian for the recruiting of volunteers by him in Austria and their despatch by him to Mexico.

In support of this assumption you argue that the United States would not be willing to admit that it would be a violation of neutrality on their part to permit the recruiting of volunteers within their jurisdiction for military service under

the republican banner in Mexico.

Your assumption, and the argument upon which you built it, were submitted by you to Count Mensdorff, and it is not unlikely that he may have inferred that the assumption is consistent with the views which are entertained by the United

States, and would therefore be approved by them. It becomes necessary, for

this reason, for me to say that I do not acquiesce in your position.

While any citizen of the United States is at liberty, under municipal and international laws, to expatriate himself unarmed, and to engage individually, when abroad, in any foreign service that he may choose, yet, on the other hand, the laws of the United States and the law of nations, as they are understood by us, forbid this government from authorizing or permitting the enlistment or organization on American ground, or the departure from our territory, of armed military forces to carry on hostilities against any foreign state, except in a war against that state duly declared by Congress.

The Prince Maximilian is either a principal or a subordinate belligerent in Mexico. The treaty which has been made between Austria and that belligerent, by which the former authorizes the organization within the Austrian dominions of two thousand or more volunteers, manifestly to be engaged in war against the republic of Mexico, is deemed by the government inconsistent with the principle of neutrality, and an engagement with Maximilian in his invasion of

that republic.

I give you herewith a copy of a note which was received on the 21st of April instant, from the Marquis de Montholon, together with a copy of the despatch which was addressed to that minister by Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys on the 5th of April instant.

I give you also a copy of the reply which I have made to the note of the

Marquis.

These several papers, together with my aforementioned despatches, which you will now have received, will put you fully in possession of the opinions of this

government, and of the duty which it has called upon you to perform.

It will be an occasion of sincere satisfaction if you shall be able to obtain from the imperial government an assurance that Austria will not hereafter intervene, by sending or by giving permission to the despatch of military forces from within her dominions to make or continue a war against the republic of Mexico.

I refrain from discussing the question you have raised, "whether the recent instructions of this department harmonize entirely with the policy which it pur-

sued at an earlier period of the European intervention in Mexico."

Your despatch is calculated to produce an impression that, notwithstanding our protest, you expect the Austrian government will still permit the departure of the volunteers under the treaty, without waiting to give us an answer to that protest, and without affording us time to consider and reply to such answer as that government shall see proper and convenient to make. Should the Austrian government insist upon proceeding in that manner, and to the extremity thus indicated, then this government will expect you to retire from Vienna, as directed in my aforesaid despatch No. 176.

I forbear also from discussing the question which you have raised of the propriety of some of the proceedings which have been taken by Mr. Bigelow in Paris, nor do I think it necessary to enter upon the consideration of the explanations which you have given of your own views in regard to these subjects.

The European war against the republic of Mexico has been from the beginning a continual menace against this government, and even against free institutions throughout the American continent. I feel very sure that no friend of such institutions, either at home or abroad, will ever well question the necessity, the wisdom, or the justice of the policy which we have steadily pursued and are still pursuing in regard to that war. It would be unprofitable for us, under such circumstances, to open personal discussions about that policy among ourselves.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Mr. Motley to Mr. Seward.

No. 167.]

UNITED STATES LEGATION, Vienna, May 1, 1866.

SIR: Many of the Vienna papers of last week published the following paragraphs, which I have reason to believe accurate:

"The shipment of the newly levied recruits for the Austrian volunteer corps

in Mexico is fixed for the 15th May.
"According to an advertisement fastened to the council-house door, the last enlistments for Mexico take place on the 27th, 28th, and 30th April. As handmoney, 25, 30, and 35 florins are offered. According to telegraphic accounts received to-day at the war department, from the various districts, the recruiting for the Mexican volunteer corps is taking a favorable course. The greater part of the newly enlisted men have already arrived at the head depot in Laybach, and are fully uniformed.

"Some of them have received a furlough until the moment of sailing, and are

seen in their new uniforms in Vienna.

"The number levied in Vienna, and in the provinces, up to yesterday, (26th

April,) is 850 men."

I have as yet received no notification from Mr. Thayer, at Triest, of the arrival of any of these volunteers in that city.

I have the honor to remain, sir, your obedient servant,

J. LOTHROP MOTLEY.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Motley.

No. 182.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, May 3, 1866.

SIR: Your confidential despatch of the 17th of April, No. 161, has been

It is a matter of some relief that only so small a number of volunteers as six hundred have been gathered at Laybach, with a view to shipment from Triest for Vera Cruz, and that the recruiting for that service is becoming very languid. It is to be hoped that a scheme obviously so unpopular in Austria will not be persisted in by the Emperor. My late communications leave no necessity for dwelling upon the subject at the present moment.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

J. LOTHROP MOTLEY, Esq., &c., &c., Vienna.

Mr. Motley to Mr. Seward.

No. 169.]

UNITED STATES LEGATION, Vienna, May 6, 1866.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Nos. 173, 174, 175, and your 176, marked confidential, of dates April 6 and April 16, respectively, all reaching me under the same envelope on May 3, in the evening. No. 175 is in answer to my 156, and relates to the affairs of Austria and Prussia.

No. 173 contains certain extracts from Paris journals, and translations in Paris journals from Vienna newspapers, sent to you by Mr. Bigelow, United States minister in Paris. Such intelligence as was accurate in those extracts has already been indicated by me in advance from authentic sources in my

despatches of January 8, February 20, and February 27.

The permission of the so-called imperial government in Mexico to levy troops to supply vacancies in the volunteer corps raised in this empire in 1864, was accorded in the beginning of this year, and mentioned in my despatch of 8th January. Of the signature of the supplementary convention I have subsequently apprised you. The statement that a line of steamers was to be started between Triest and Vera Cruz, to begin to ply on April 1, has, I believe, no foundation in fact.

I have understood that Mr. Loosey, Austrian consul general at New York, has long had the project of starting a line of steamers between Triest and New York, and that latterly there had been some hope of causing such steamers to stop at Vera Cruz, but I have ascertained that the project has been for the

present, at least, abandoned.

I sent this information to Mr. Bigelow, in reply to his inquiry made some

five or six weeks ago.

The remainder of your No. 173 I shall have the honor to answer in connexion with your Nos. 174 and 176, in a separate despatch, which will go by the same post, as does the present one.

Meantime I have the honor to remain, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
J. LOTHROP MOTLEY.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

Mr. Motley to Count Mensdorff.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, Vienna, May 6, 1866.

YOUR EXCELLENCY: It will be doubtless within your recollection, that on the 7th of April I had the honor to lay before you, for confidential perusal, a despatch

of my own to Mr. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States.

This paper was in answer to a communication from the Secretary of State, instructing me to make as earnest and emphatic protest as was compatible with the profound respect entertained by the United States for the imperial royal government against the departure of any additional soldiers from Austria for Mexico.

The language of the protest which I was thus instructed to make was quoted at length in the despatch which I had the honor of submitting to your perusal before sending it to Washington. In returning that despatch, I understood your excellency to observe that it contained a just and explicit statement of the position of the Austrian government in regard to the affairs of Mexico, and that you had no further observations to make upon it.

Since forwarding that paper to Washington, I have received despatches of a

grave nature from my government in regard to the same subject.

These despatches are not, of course, in answer to my communication above

mentioned. For this, sufficient time has not yet elapsed.

The instructions just received by me from Mr. Seward are in answer to my statement to him, under date of 27th March last, that the military supplementary convention between the Austrian government and the government of Mexico, recognized here as the legitimate one, had been signed on the 11th March, and that it was expected that about one thousand volunteers would be shipped very soon from Triest to Vera Cruz, and at least as many more in the autumn.

An imperative duty is now placed upon me of again most respectfully calling your excellency's attention to the general and growing uneasiness throughout the United States on the subject of foreign troops in Mexico. In so doing, I

wish to use the most courteous and becoming terms that are consistent with a

faithful execution of the task just committed to me by my government.

Recognizing the right of one independent nation, for reasons deemed sufficient by itself, to make war upon another independent nation, and not feeling called upon to be a judge of the quarrel between the belligerents, the United States have scrupulously maintained neutrality in the war existing during the past few years between the empire of France and the republic of Mexico, with which power the United States government has not ceased to maintain friendly relations.

This preservation of neutrality has been rendered the more difficult in proportion to the growth of the conviction among the people of the United States that the war begun by France for the purpose of redressing grievances, and with a disclaimer of all political intentions on the part of France, was continued, as it were, indefinitely for the purpose of establishing and perpetuating on the borders of our own territory a foreign imperial government by means of European troops.

It is hoped that at last an arrangement has been effected by which the French troops, heretofore preventing a free expression of the national will in Mexico,

are to be withdrawn.

The appearance of fresh troops arriving from Austria at exactly this moment, therefore, would almost inevitably increase the general excitement in the United States which the recent understanding with the French government had begun to allay.

It would be thought erroneous, as such a supposition really is, that the government of Austria was about to succeed that of France in an armed and protective alliance with the new government which it wishes to see established

in Mexico.

A thousand volunteers, many of them, perhaps, veterans, having served their time in the Austrian army, will be regarded as the precursors of an indefinite number sufficient to supply the void left by the retiring French forces, and to overawe for a period of years the free action of the Mexican people in regard to their form of government.

The United States government has from the beginning neither acquiesced in nor intimated the possibility of a future acquiescence in the substitution of an imperial foreign and military government in the place of the national republic of Mexico, unless it should satisfy itself that such was unquestionably the will

of the Mexican people.

That will, in the opinion of the United States government, can never be manifested in the presence of foreign fleets and armies. It has, therefore, during its very protracted diplomatic correspondence with the French imperial government, been unable to admit the validity of the revolution supposed to have been effected in the government of Mexico chiefly by the means of European forces.

In its last note addressed to the French government it expressed itself as understanding the Emperor of the French to announce to the United States his immediate purpose to bring to an end the services of his armies in Mexico, to withdraw them and in good faith to fall back, without stipulation or condition on the part of the United States, upon the principle of non-intervention, as to which he is henceforth agreed with the United States.

The practice of the United States government, says the Secretary of State, is from its beginning a guarantee to all nations of the respect of the American people for the free sovereignty of the people in every other state. It is the

chief element of foreign intercourse in our history.

Thus much of information I have thought it not superfluous to give of the latest expression by the United States government to that of France of its sentiments in regard to the affairs of Mexico.

I am now instructed to say to the imperial royal government of Austria, that,

in the opinion of the United States, the time seems to have arrived when the position of their government in relation to Mexico should be frankly and distinctly made known to the imperial government, and to all others whom it may directly concern.

The United States, for reasons which seem to them to be just and to have their foundation in the laws of nations, maintain that the domestic republican government is the only legitimate one existing in Mexico. They cannot, in view of the character of their own political institutions, their proximity and intimate relations towards Mexico, and their just influence in the affairs of the American continent, consent to the subversion of that government by foreign armies. Having urged upon the French government their strong and, as they think, reasonable desire for the withdrawal of the French troops engaged in that objectionable invasion, it now becomes proper for the United States to announce that they are no less opposed to military intervention for political objects hereafter in Mexico with the sanction of the Austrian government than they are opposed to any further intervention of the same character in that country by France.

I am accordingly instructed to state that the United States sincerely desire that Austria may find it just and expedient to come upon the grounds of non-intervention in Mexico which is maintained by the United States, and to which they have invited France. They could not but regard as a matter of serious concern the despatch of any troops from Austria for Mexico while the subject which I am thus directed to present to the Austrian government remains under consideration.

I have now faithfully laid before your excellency, as briefly as the importance of the subject would permit, the position of the United States in regard to Mexico.

Until recently I have been instructed by my government to abstain from formal political discussions here of the important events occurring in that country. On repeated occasions, however, I have felt it appropriate to express in courteous language, without formality, but in all sincerity, the opinions of the United States government and people as to the attempt to establish a foreign and imperial government by means of European military forces upon the ruins of an American republic.

Those opinions have been no secret to those with whom I have had the honor of conversing, but it is only now that I am instructed by my government to speak in its name, and with the whole weight of whatever influence it may be thought to possess over the general sentiment of the world. There has been no doubt, I suppose, as to the almost unanimous opinion of the American people

on the subject.

From time to time it has been my duty to place before the imperial royal government documents, emanating from the cabinet at Washington, relating to the affairs of Mexico. The diplomatic correspondence of the United States government with that of France, from the beginning of the hostile expeditions against Mexico down to a very recent period, has been regularly printed, and is

within the reach of all who wish to read it.

Public sentiment in the United States as to intervention on the part of European governments and soldiers for the purpose of revolutionizing the polity, subverting the existing institutions, and controlling the destiny of American republics, has been manifested in every way in which it was possible to make it known, by solemn resolutions of Congress, by the utterances of great public meetings without distinction of party, and by the general voice of the American press.

The feelings of the American people and its successive governments, as exhibited through the whole of their national career, and publicly manifested on many solemn occasions, in regard to forcible and armed interference by European powers with established institutions on the western continent, are, whether they

may be deemed reasonable or not, and whatever weight may be attached to them by European opinion, a matter of history and known to mankind.

Such interference was long ago proclaimed, on the highest official authority, as of necessity to be considered a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States. It is hardly expedient, therefore, on this occasion, to consume more of your excellency's time by the exposition of a subject so familiar to you.

I beg your excellency to believe that the frankness and sincerity with which I have thus set forth, in obedience to the instructions of the President, the sentiments of the government which I have the honor to represent at the court of his Imperial Royal Majesty, are not incompatible with the most entire respect for the imperial royal government and with the Austrian nation, and with the warmest and most sincere desire for their welfare.

In conclusion, I feel it my duty, in this most grave aspect of affairs, to repeat the earnest hope that it may not be found expedient to postpone the departure of fresh troops from Austria to Mexico until such answer to this communication as your excellency may be pleased to make shall have been candidly and deliberately considered by the United States government at Washington.

Meantime I pray your excellency to accept the expression of the highest consideration with which I have the honor to remain your excellency's very

obedient servant,

J. LOTHROP MOTLEY.

His Excellency Count Mensdorff, Imperial Royal Minister of Foreign Affairs, &c., &c., &c.

Mr. Canisius to Mr. Seward.

[Extracts.]

No. 57.] Consulate of the United States of America, Vienna, May 8, 1866.

SIR: * * * The news received here per telegraph that you have demanded of Austria the discontinuation of sending any more volunteers to Maximilian, of Mexico, has created here quite a sensation. The people of Austria feel now, in their distress, more than ever, that this enterprise of Maximilian, and the subsequent agreement made by this government to aid him by sending soldiers to that distant country, of no value to the people of this empire, was a great mistake.

I found in this morning's paper the following item:

[Translation.]

"LAYBACH, (near Triest,) May 5.

"The Mexican free corps.—The recruiting for the Mexican free corps will definitely be closed to-day. All the recruits have to be ready on the 8th of this month at the principal depot at Laybach, as the embarcation commences in Triest on the 10th instant. The Mexican Colonel Leisser will personally attend to the embarcation."

What the Austrian government will decide now, after your protest, will soon be seen, as the embarcation was to take place on the 10th of this month.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant, T. CANISIUS,

United States Consul.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

Mr. Motley to Mr. Seward.

No. 174.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, Vienna, May 15, 1866.

SIR: Referring to my No. 173, of date May 12, I have the honor to state that I have received no answer as yet to my note to Count Mensdorff, of May 6, a copy of which was enclosed in my No. 170, of date May 8.

As I have already been informed officially, but confidentially, that the departure of the volunteers for Mexico has been prevented, (information which I immediately conveyed to you in my above-mentioned No. 173,) this delay has

nothing in it surprising.

On the eve of a tremendous war, such as this, in which all Germany is almost immediately to be plunged, it is natural that there should be great press of business at the imperial royal foreign office. I have reason to suppose, moreover, that a desire on the part of the imperial royal government to know what reply you may be pleased to make to my despatch No. 158, confidentially communicated to the imperial royal minister of foreign affairs before it was forwarded to Washington, may, in part, account for the delay. I have, of course, not intimated that there was the slightest probability of any change having been effected in the emphatic opposition on the part of the United States government to the sending of volunteers from Austria to Mexico. On the other hand, I think that you may consider it certain, as a matter of fact, that no soldiers will sail again from Austria to Mexico.

I shall be glad to be informed officially of the state of the negotiations be-

tween the United States government and that of France.

From the American newspapers I gather that the decree of the French Emperor concerning the evacuation of Mexico had been communicated to the United States government.

I know not whether the United States government has expressed its concur-

rence with that decision.

My latest authentic intelligence as to the negotiations with France is con-

tained in your note to the Marquis de Montholon of February 12.

I would also observe, in passing, that the two last published volumes of the diplomatic correspondence, parts 3 and 4, for the year 1864, containing the correspondence with France and all other countries excepting England, has never been sent to me.

Happening to be in London at the close of last year, however, I procured a

copy at the United States legation.

I think it not superfluous to state that, according to information received from Mr. Thayer, United States consul at Triest, the transport in which the volunteers were to have been conveyed from that port to Mexico was the French merchant ship Tampico.

I have the honor to remain, sir, your obedient servant,

J. LOTHROP MOTLEY.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

Mr. Motley to Mr. Seward.

No. 177.]

UNITED STATES LEGATION, Vienna, May 21, 1866.

SIR: I have the honor to state that I have just received a note from Count Mensdorff, in answer to my note of date May 6, a copy of which was forwarded with my despatch No. 170, of date May 8.

Ex. Doc. 54——2

I have prepared a careful translation of the minister's note, which, together

with a copy of the original, I transmit with this despatch.

I cannot doubt that both the contents and friendly spirit of this communication from the imperial royal government will give sincere satisfaction to the United States government.

I have the honor to remain, sir, your obedient servant,

J. LOTHROP MOTLEY.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

Count Mensdorff to Mr. Motley.

[Translation.]

Ministry of the Imperial House and of Foreign Affairs. Vienna, May 20, 1866.

The undersigned, minister of the imperial house and of foreign affairs, has had the honor to receive the note which the Hon. Mr. Lothrop Motley, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States of North America, addressed to him on the 6th of the current month, in which expression is given to the representations which his government has seen itself called upon to make in regard to the volunteers enlisted in the Austrian states for

military service in Mexico.

The undersigned has already had repeated occasions to give verbal explanations to the envoy of the United States concerning the nature and extent of the enrolments in question which have taken place in very limited measures, both as to numbers and period of enlistment—explanations which were intended to remove every doubt which could have arisen in the eyes of the government of the United States in regard to the intentions of Austrla in this matter. As, however, it appears from the latest communications of the envoy that the said explanations have not hitherto had the effect to entirely tranquillize the North American government in this respect, as that government feels obliged to see in the enlistments in question an exertion of influence on the part of Austria in the internal affairs of Mexico which might become a motive for the United States to come out of the neutral position which it has hitherto maintained in regard to those affairs; as, finally, according to the observation contained in the note of Mr. Lothrop Motley, the exertion of an influence of the above-mentioned character would be regarded as well by the government as by public opinion in the United States as an unfriendly proceeding towards them, which would be entirely out of harmony with the intentions of the imperial government, the undersigned finds himself in the position, without, therefore, being able to agree with all the views developed in the many-times cited note, to make known to the envoy that, in consideration of all the above-mentioned circumstances, the necessary measures have been taken to prevent the departure of the volunteers lately enlisted for Mexico.

In the confident expectation that the cabinet at Washington will feel itself on this account the more induced to allow no change to take place in the neutral position hitherto maintained by it towards Mexico, and that the government of the United States will recognize in this proceeding of the imperial cabinet a new proof of its sincere wish to remove everything that might be capable of exercising a prejudicial influence upon the relations between the two countries, the undersigned makes use of this occasion to renew to the honorable Mr. Lothrop Motley the assurance of his high and distinguished consideration.

MENSDORFF.

Mr. LOTHROP MOTLEY,

Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, U. S. A.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Motley.

No. 184.]

Austria and Mexico.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, May 26, 1866.

SIR: Your despatch of May 6, No. 169, has been received, and I thank you for the information which it communicates concerning the relations between

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

J. LOTHROP MOTLEY, Esq., &c., &c., Vienna.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Motley.

No. 185.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, May 26, 1866.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 8th instant, No. 170, which paper is accompanied by a copy of a note which, on the 6th instant, you addressed to Count Mensdorff in execution of my instructions Nos. 173, 174, and 176.

I have great pleasure in saying that the President approves entirely of the proceedings on your part, which are related in your despatch, and equally approves of your note to the Austrian minister for foreign affairs.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

J. LOTHROP MOTLEY, Esq., &c., &c., Vienna.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Motley.

No. 186.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, May 30, 1866.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 15th instant, No. 174. In that paper I find the following paragraphs:

"As I have already been informed, officially, but confidentially, that the departure of the volunteers for Mexico has been prevented, (information which I immediately conveyed to you in my above-mentioned No. 173,) this delay has nothing in it surprising.

"I think that you may consider it certain, as a matter of fact, that no soldiers

will sail from Austria to Mexico."

Your No. 173, referred to in the first paragraph, has not yet reached this department. The paragraphs extracted, however, are sufficient to satisfy the President that our wishes in regard to the Mexican question are receiving just consideration by the imperial royal government.

If it shall seem to you to be expedient, you will say this to Count Mensdorff, and at the same time express to him our earnest and sincere wishes to remain

always in peace and cordial friendship with Austria.

In compliance with your request, I send herewith, for your information, a copy of so much of the correspondence with France concerning Mexico as has not heretofore been furnished you.

I am sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

J. LOTHROP MOTLEY, Esq., &c., &c., Vienna.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Motley.

No. 189.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, June 9, 1866.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 21st of May, No. 177. It is accompanied by a copy of a note which was ad-

dressed to you by Count Mensdorff on the 20th of May last.

Count Mensdorff announces to us in the said note that the departure of the volunteers lately enlisted in Austria for service in Mexico will not be allowed to take place. This decision of the imperial royal government is received by the President with sincere satisfaction. It is in harmony with the spirit which has governed the proceedings of Austria in her intercourse with the United States throughout the whole period in which political disturbances in America have been the subject of discussion between the United States and the Emperor.

You are authorized to communicate these sentiments to Count Mensdorff, and to assure him that the present just, liberal, and friendly proceeding on the part of Austria will not fail to enhance the good will and cordial friendship which the United States so habitually cherish for the government and people of Austria.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

J. LOTHROP MOTLEY, Esq., &c., &c., Vienna.

[From the Debats of the 18th May, 1866.—Forwarded by Mr. Bigelow.]

[Translation.]

We have good reason to call in question the news of the departure of Austrian volunteers for Mexico, published in the Memorial Diplomatique. Nothing, in fact, could be more unlikely after the despatches from the government of the United States which we have laid before our readers. Correspondents at Triest announce not merely that the Austro-Mexican detachment has not embarked, but that it will be disbanded, and that the men who compose it have for the most part requested to take service in the corps of volunteers which is organizing in view of the approaching war. The Austrian government (they write from Triest) was under the greater obligation not to withdraw its forces from the service of the country, because it at the same time avoided assuming an offensive attitude toward the United States of America. Thus our own previous impressions are confirmed, notwithstanding the pretended information of the Memorial Diplomatique.

Mr. Bigelow to Mr. Seward.

[Extract.]

No. 325.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, Paris, May 25, 1866.

SIR: The following semi-official announcement appeared in La France last evening: "The return to France of Marshal Bazaine with the first detachment returning from Mexico is under consideration. In this case the marshal will turn over his command to General Douai."

Should nothing occur to change the present programme, I think Marshal Bazaine will return with the first detachment of French troops in October next. I am told that the contract with the Transatlantic Steamship Company, for their transport from Vera Cruz to St. Nazaire, was signed on Monday last.

I have as yet received no reply from Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys to my inquiry in reference to the contract supposed to have been signed at the ministry of marine for the shipment of troops from Triest to Vera Cruz. His silence leaves little room to doubt that my suspicions were correct.

I have, &c.,

JOHN BIGELOW.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow.

No. 469.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, May 31, 1866.

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 16th instant, No. 320, containing a translation from La France of the 15th, in regard to the disposition of Austrian troops which had been intended for the service of the imperialists in Mexico, and enclosing translation of extracts from the Memorial Diplomatique and the Debats, relating to this and other branches of the Mexican question.

I enclose, confidentially, for your information, a copy of an instruction of this date, which I have addressed to Mr. Motley.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

John Bigelow, Esq., &c., &c., &c.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow.

No. 474.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, June 4, 1866.

SIR: Your despatch of the 10th ultimo, No. 316, was duly received. The position which you inform me therein that you propose to take in regard to the forwarding of troops to Mexico is approved. Thanking you for your attention to the subject,

I remain, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

John Bigelow, Esq., &c., &c., &c.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow.

No. 476.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, June 6, 1866.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of May 25, No. 325.

The information which it contains seems to justify us in assuming that the French government has made arrangements for withdrawing one-third of its forces now in Mexico, from that country, in October. The knowledge of this fact will have a tendency to quiet the public mind in the United States.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

John Bigelow, Esq., &c., &c., &c.

